

[Chaco Period]

Terena

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's father and in the presence of all the members of the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

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MARRIAGE (KOTENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages between their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

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The betrothal ceremony, known as *koyenóne*, was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háransimínó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivó kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

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When the girl reached puberty the wedding ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's parents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eahági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

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The bride's father then led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

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a specially adorned reed mat called *pouli Aene koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *wauti*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives.

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather head-dresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*.

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *Aitwi*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand.

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money.

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A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177
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BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything was missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761
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After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764
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After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768
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The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765
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842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,

836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does

585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consummated, the
133 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
123 a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
124 in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
126 Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
114 not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

312 /406 cont. / *Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees*
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.

242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.

439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.

[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain

[519] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo).

The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand

[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with

[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are

[505] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

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323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
462 is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
829 carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
467 the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

● 585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
178 is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
411 and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow.

The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded. --

585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña.

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● 585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the
bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then
goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom re-
mains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her
family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
585 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a
second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festi-
val of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week
before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one
arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled

[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially
caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the
more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between
one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza.
One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding
a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a
circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face
turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs
who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the
latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the
west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way
he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the

[821] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for

[282] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness,
snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the
prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole
company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible
noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home,
while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-

796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
583 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening
the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

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- 572 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
585 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
● 585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

- 764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left
* by the deceased.

- 765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he

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